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ABSTRACT

The Fullemploy Training Scheme is an experiment designed to overcome problems encountered by disadvantaged youth in Britain's Manpower Services Commission's job training program. The aim of the scheme is to bring minority disadvantaged young people into a special office skills training course which would combine vocational training with instruction in life and social skills and, where necessary, provide practical help with trainees' social problems. The evaluation described in this report concerns the first two experimental courses run by Fullemploy and Barclays International Bank. Included in the report are an introductory discussion of black unemployment in Britain, an outline of the background, philosophy and design of the Fullemploy Training scheme, and a brief description of the evaluation plan. The body of the evaluation focuses on academic, social, and personal aspects of the courses, as well as on participants' subsequent employment histories. Several case studies of trainees are also presented. Evaluation data from the Fullemploy program are compared with data collected from another office skills course conducted in a London College of Further Education. Based upon jobs acquired by trainees upon leaving the program and upon six month follow-up data, it is concluded that, in spite of the problems encountered, the Fullemploy courses are the more successful. Recommendations are offered for increasing the program's effectiveness in the future. (GC)

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INCREASING EMPLOYABILITY:

An Evaluation of the Fullemploy Training Scheme

by M. A. Pearn and J. Munene

The Runnymede Trust in association with Manpower Services Commission Training Service Division

December 1978

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FOREWORD

Compensatory programmes in education are rarely known outside the statutory section of education and even more rarely evaluated. It is for these reasons that the Runnymede Trust evaluation of Project Fullemploy makes an important contribution to justifying a new approach in post statutory education; a new approach of which we need to see much more.

Although many of the disadvantages suffered by ethnic minorities are the same as those suffered by other young unemployed people, all the available evidence points to racial discrimination as being the major factor which causes the disproportionately high youth unemployment which young black people in particular face. Perhaps, therefore, the most impressive achievement of Project Fullemploy is the relative success it has had in finding disadvantaged young black people decent jobs in a very difficult labour market.

The approach adopted by the Project has important lessons in the whole field of education and training, in particular in the integration of overall objectives and in terms of vigorous selection procedures which ensure that those most in need of help get on to the programme.

An important part of the success must also be found in the extent of co-operation between such a wide range of organisations ranging from community workers and black project leaders, to major international banks. The scheme has no illusions, it does not seek to create jobs, it seeks to give young people the confidence, skill and motivation needed to find work in vocations where there are serious staff shortages. The project and its evaluation deserve the attention of policy makers at all levels in the hope that this approach might be reproduced elsewhere.

Chris Brooks
Youthaid

INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of 1975 the Manpower Services Commission's Training Services Division was expecting to train about 1,000 unemployed young people in the 16 to 19 year age group on courses below craft level during that year. Today the Agency is aiming to train about 35,000 unemployed young people in that age group on similar courses in the current financial year (1979/80). Such rapid expansion of MSC training provision for unemployed young people tends to obscure the fact that there are still some young people who are unlikely to be able to make use of it without special help. These include both those who are reluctant to make contact with the local careers services or ESD, and those whose lack of formal qualification and record of heavy social disadvantage may conceal real abilities which have never had a proper chance to develop. Among these disadvantaged may be the habitual truant from school, the deliquent often in trouble with the police and the young unmarried mother who is looking after young children single-handed. Young people in these situations are less likely to learn about the special measures available to help them to get training and employment or, if they do hear of them, to see the relevance of the measures to their particular needs. Moreover, if they did come forward for MSC's usual type of training course, their severe social problems might well make it difficult for them to benefit from an intensive vocational training programme.

This report is concerned with an experiment designed to overcome these problems. The aim was to find socially disadvantaged young people in areas of London where there are heavy concentrations of ethnic minorities, and to persuade a small number to come on a special office skills training course which would mix vocational training with quite extensive tuition in life and social skills, and, where necessary, practical help with the trainees' social problems.

The experiment has depended on an unusual combination of different organisations and types of expertise: Fullemploy with a well developed network of contacts with community relations organisations and self help groups could identify social disadvantaged young people in need of a special course of this kind, Barclays Bank International Ltd with excellent facilities and experienced trainers to run an office skills course in an authentic commercial environment and Runnymede Trust with its well-established tradition of independent research into the behaviour and problems of ethnic minorities as the body chosen to evaluate the experiment. Dr. Pearn who took overall responsibility for the evaluation was particularly well qualified to undertake this work as an occupational psychologist who came to Runnymede Trust after more than 5

years research experience with the Industrial Training Research Unit which included a period spent on the development and evaluation of the MSC's Wider Opportunity Courses.*

The evaluation described in this report concerns the first two experimental courses run by Fullemploy and Barclays International. Between them these two courses catered for a total of 50 trainees. Clearly such a small sample may not be representative of disadvantaged young people from ethnic minorities in London, let alone other parts of the country. Furthermore, any examination of the first two courses is bound to focus attention on some transitory teething problems. Several of the problems which emerged on the second course, for example, were avoided on a third course run shortly afterwards, partly as a result of Dr. Pearn's discussion of these problems with Barclays' tutors before the third course began. In the event the Barclays' tutors considered that the succeeding courses were much more successful than the second had been, and four more of these courses were run in the period up to July 1978. This report should therefore be viewed as an evaluation of the first stage in the development of a training course which has been further developed.

Yet, while it is important not to lose sight of the report's limitations, we consider that there is a great deal of information in the report which is likely to be of considerable interest to anyone who is involved in helping severely disadvantaged young people to adjust to the demands of a job in industry or commerce.

The evaluation has certainly produced some important insights for us in the MSC. On the one hand we have learnt that a number of factors which we have found important on our more conventional courses are almost equally important on experimental course: the main examples are careful selection of trainees, a well regulated routine which helps trainees to understand the relevance of self-discipline to success in their work and terminal standards which will enable those trainees who have the ability to take exams leading to publicly recognised qualifications. On the other hand the evaluation has pinpointed other features of the Fullemploy course which are not so common to MSC's normal training provision: the "social welfare" support provided by the tutors for individual trainees, particularly on the first course and more generally the tutors' ability to respond to the needs of young people who were quite unlike Barclays' normal intake of young recruits with several "O" level qualifications; the considerable help given to trainees both during and after the course in finding suitable employment; and the impact of courses run in the City on the aspirations of young people who had never previously thought of working there. This last point is particularly important. It is all too easy to restrict training provision to the range of employment opportunities available in the immediate locality in which young people live. However the evidence of this study suggests

*For details see "Widening Employment Opportunities" ITRU Research paper TRIO.

that at least in major conurbations like London a well-organised training scheme in a promising employment area can broaden the horizons of young people from more deprived areas and equip them to make a much more ambitious choice of employment. With hindsight it seems clear that this is one obvious way of helping young people to break out of their families' cycle of deprivation.

For this reason alone we hope that the Fullemploy/Barclays experiment can soon be repeated elsewhere. Already negotiations are well under way for a similar office skills course to be mounted in Bristol, and Fullemploy hope to persuade employers to run experimental courses in other occupations, including occupations outside the office skills area which will appeal to boys as well as girls. One further point is perhaps worth stressing: we do not see this type of course remaining the sole prerogative of larger firms such as Barclays Bank International. Although Barclays' very generous provision of instructors and equipment undoubtedly made a significant contribution to the results achieved on the courses evaluated in this study we believe that smaller firms with much more modest resources can still help either individually or through pooling resources to make disadvantaged young people more employable by running a similar type of course. Certainly we in the MSC will do everything we can to help any employer who is prepared to try and Fullemploy has indicated willingness to help set up some new courses aimed at helping disadvantaged young people.

Manpower Services Commission
Training Services Division

"The course is designed to *lead into* a job. *The project will be judged by whether it succeeds in giving a real opportunity to work in commerce to young people who might otherwise never get one, whether through their own fault or that of the 'system' they so easily blame".*

Fullemploy Prospectus
April 1976

I INTRODUCTION

(i) Black employment in Britain

Youth unemployment in Britain is a serious problem. In July 1976 there were 515,000 unemployed people under the age of 25, of whom 199,000 were school-leavers. Unemployment among young people (16-17 year olds) rose by 120% between January 1972 and January 1977 compared with a rise of 45% among the working population as a whole.[1] Youth unemployment among ethnic minority groups is an even more serious problem, if not in actual numbers, at least proportionately. There is evidence that the unemployment rate of young West Indians is twice the national average, and appears to be concentrated in particular geographical areas, and especially in the inner cities. Young people of ethnic minority groups are particularly vulnerable in times of increasing unemployment. There is evidence that during times of increasing unemployment the rate for coloured workers rises faster than for the population as a whole.[2] As a proportion of the total unemployed register, unemployed coloured workers represented 2.2% of the total in November 1973, and 3.4% in May 1975. In February 1975, 31% of male unemployed coloured workers and 44% of females were under 25.

The situation has recently been summed up in the Report of the British Youth Council, Working Party on Youth Unemployment: "Although many of the disadvantages suffered by ethnic minorities are the same as those suffered by other young unemployed people, all the available evidence points to racial discrimination as being the major factor in the disproportionately high youth unemployment levels they face. The result of this is growing cynicism and alienation, making it much more difficult to help these young people through conventional agencies".[3] There are other important factors contributing to unemployment among coloured workers. Some of these were listed in a recent report of the Department of Employment:[4]

(a) The shorter average duration in employment of ethnic minority workers which makes them vulnerable to "last in, first out" rules at times of redundancy;

(b) The relatively low level of skill of many first generation coloured immigrants;

(c) The greater percentage increases in unemployment in regions (eg South East and West Midlands) where racial minority groups are concentrated, than in Great Britain as a whole; and

(d) Poor knowledge of English

Having a job is important for three different sets of reasons, viz. economic (e.g. paying for food and accommodation); social (e.g. being in contact with others); and psychological (e.g. self-respect). The consequences of not satisfying these needs can be serious both for the individual and for society as a whole. If a society contains an ever-growing group of people who have given up hope of employment there is a danger that the group will seek other ways of satisfying their needs, if only by violating the behavioural norms which underlie a stable society.

There are signs that this is already beginning to happen. A report by the Community Relations Commission has drawn attention to the signs of alienation, particularly among black youths.[5] The high rate of unemployment is coupled with a high incidence of non-registration on the unemployment register, and a low take-up of training places despite many vacancies. Many young black people are rejecting the government employment and training agencies, just as they feel rejected by the block-wall of discrimination which they meet when they apply for jobs.[6] The CRC report emphasises that the situation is likely to worsen because the black young people became trapped in a vicious circle. Once an individual becomes disadvantaged he loses the capacity to help himself to overcome the disadvantage, and he passes the disadvantage on to his children. In both a figurative and a literal sense deprivation breeds deprivation, since its effects mitigate against the effectiveness of counter efforts and measures.

Another way of looking at the problem, and the one adopted in this report, is to look at deprivation in terms of causes, consequences, and symptoms. The diagram (Fig. 1) can be used to define the critical features of the problem. The diagram is greatly simplified, and lines indicating the complex relationship between consequences have been omitted for clarity. For example there would be a strong link between low standard of education and poor self-concept, and a weaker link between socio-cultural deprivation and homelessness.

By this model, unemployment is one feature of a whole web of inter-related factors operating at the personal, economic, and socio-cultural levels. The ultimate symptom (in this context) is unemployment or under-employment. Simply defined, under-employment means working below one's abilities and capacities. Both unemployment and under-employment are treated here as equivalent because they produce similar effects on the individual. For example a person who experiences a long spell of either unemployment or under-employment becomes a marginal employee; he or she acquires poor work habits, and few employers would want to employ him or her.[7]

Under-employment is characteristic of those industries which rely largely on unskilled manual labour, eg hotel and catering, textiles, foundries. It is in these industries that black workers are often concentrated. Under-employment is a feature of the secondary as opposed to the primary labour market.

This distinction has been well described by Bosanquet.[8] He described how two types of labour markets, the primary and the secondary, are developing in

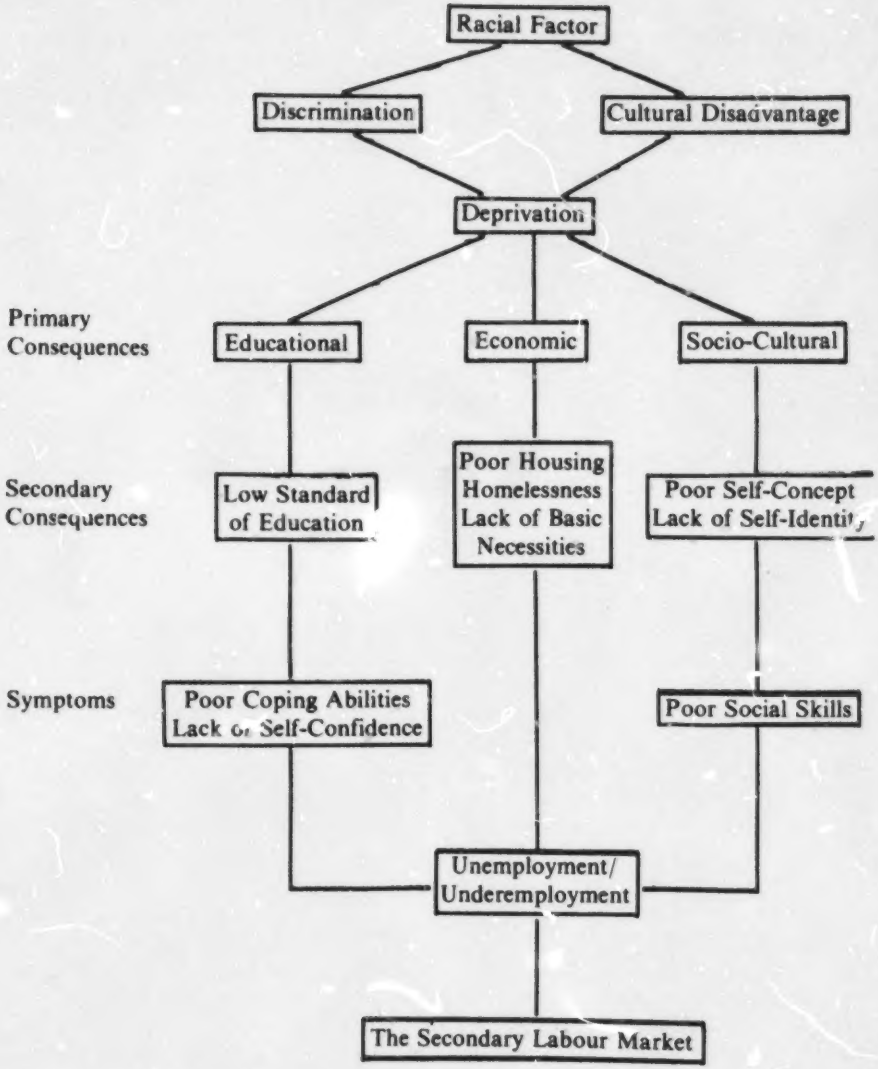


Fig. 1. Aspects of racial disadvantage

Britain. The primary labour market offers an environment where a person can easily develop appropriate work habits. The secondary labour market, characterised by "under-employment, low pay, poor fringe benefits, poor working conditions, instability, little chance of promotion, and often arbitrary and capricious supervision" is an environment where poor work habits, e.g. constant job changing and high absenteeism, are fostered. Bosanquet argues that large numbers of youths at one stage or other in their work career pass through secondary employment. The interaction, however, between race and the presence of a dual labour market results in a greater number of minority youths being trapped indefinitely in the secondary labour market. This can happen as a result of *direct* racial discrimination whereby minority youths are denied opportunities in the primary market. This has recently been confirmed in two studies which have monitored the job-seeking experiences of Asian[9] and West Indian[10] school-leavers in Britain.

Alternatively, young people can be denied access to the primary labour market *indirectly* as a result of poor school qualifications and the lack of any vocational skills. The result is a high incidence of under-employment, unemployment and alienation. The trainees on the Fullemploy courses provided ample evidence of both socio-cultural and economic deprivation. One example of acute economic deprivation was a girl who had no useable pair of shoes, and another was a boy who had neither a useable pair of shoes nor a suitable pair of trousers. A number of trainees could not read properly because they had eye trouble and during the course had to be supplied with pairs of glasses. On the second Fullemploy course one trainee failed to turn up because he had slept the previous night in a gutter, was conscious of smelling, had nowhere to take a bath, and therefore decided he could not attend.

On both of the courses described in this report, deprivation was frequently acute, and in the majority of cases trainees were not able to resolve their personal and domestic problems, either because they did not possess the basic know-how and skills for obtaining information, or because of a lack of money. The following case study describes two youngsters who joined and dropped out of the course voluntarily because of severe domestic and social problems. One youth was white; the other was black.

CASE STUDY 1

A (aged 21) and B (aged 19) were two boys on the second course who were unable to complete it because of social problems. A who was born of English parents reported on the course four days late because his mother had a new boy-friend and had kicked him out of the house with the result that he had nowhere to live until he found hostel accommodation in Nottinghill Gate. Before coming to the course he had had four factory jobs. He was suffering from severe nervous tension and on coming to the course he had just recovered from (as he

put it) a mental depression. He attended the course regularly for only a week, followed by repeated absences for which we have no reason. He was finally advised to leave the course three weeks later.

B, who was of Jamaican descent, was on the other hand regarded as bright and had obtained very good CSEs. Like A he was in conflict with his mother who did not trust him so that he was also kicked out of his home. Attempts by the course counsellor to plead for his reinstatement did not meet with any success. He was described by his Youth Worker as suffering from what he called "a persecution complex" and was in frequent conflict with the police during the short time he was on the course.

Having been surrounded by insurmountable problems, lacking basic skills and basic resources to deal with them, many young people become part of a sub-culture with its own special norms, values and codes of conduct, as well as its own set of skills for survival in the sub-culture. The skills may become inappropriate when applied outside the sub-culture, and this reduces the young person's employability. In order for these young people to be brought back into the main stream of society, it is clear that a conventional vocational skills training course would be insufficient.

(ii) **Background to the Fullemploy Training Scheme**

Fullemploy developed the idea of a training course as a result of three years' experience functioning as an employment agency helping black people obtain jobs in the City. Fullemploy Limited had been founded to bring together the skills, experience and financial backing of a consortium of 12 companies from the City of London.

Fullemploy had been increasingly called upon to give prolonged advice and guidance to young people, especially West Indians, who were two or three years out of school and who had no stable employment. The majority had no qualifications and felt that the London working environment was almost hopelessly alien. Fullemploy believed that many of their clients had the potential, and were sufficiently conscientious, to undertake successfully work from which they were barred by lack of formal qualifications, and the general reluctance of employers to recruit coloured workers.

Barclays Bank International Limited were among Fullemploy's original shareholders, and suggested that their London Training Centre should collaborate with Fullemploy Limited to provide a commercial skills course to meet, as effectively as possible, the needs of young black people who came within Fullemploy's normal scope.

Both Barclays and Fullemploy saw this type of training course as a positive step toward improving the employment opportunities of the more disadvantaged young person. If the experimental course could be shown to work, they felt that other employers, with spare training capacity might be

persuaded to mount similar exercises, in other parts of the country, and focussing on other skills.

Barclays Bank International Limited prepared a budget (of £27,356) for the first 12 week course covering the costs of the instructors, accommodation, heating, lighting and equipment. These were largely costs that Barclays International would have incurred in any case and were related to capacity which was under-used at the time. The costs also included estimates for the social welfare of trainees which is normally outside the responsibility of the TSA*, to whom Fullemploy applied for a subsidy, in meeting its role in providing vocational training for unemployed young people. A note on the financial arrangements has been contributed by the TSA:

> "Fullemploy applied to TSA's London Regional Office for financial assistance. A training fee was negotiated in line with TSA's normal practice with employers who provide training for unemployed young people in spare training capacity. The fee negotiated was about a third of the Barclays' estimate for the whole social welfare and training package. TSA was able to contribute because of the vocational training content in the scheme. The amount paid was at the maximum of the range TSA negotiates with employers and was about double the amount which employers on average received at the time. In addition, TSA agreed to pay allowances to individual trainees at standard TSA rates, and to pay for midday meals, travelling expenses for those who had to travel two miles or more, and the cost of any necessary training items needed by individual trainees to undertake the course, such as text books. The difference between the total cost of the scheme and the TSA vocational training contributions was met by Barclays International".

As they wished to test their own ideas, Fullemploy approached the Runnymede Trust with a request to evaluate the first course. The Runnymede Trust agreed and applied successfully to the TSA for funds to cover the cost of the evaluation.

(iii) The Philosophy and Design of the Course

1. *Aims*

The stated aims of the course, as defined by Fullemploy, and approved by the TSA, were:

"(a) to create a typical office environment in the City and provide tuition over a period of 12 weeks, for twenty-four trainees to allow them to develop their abilities in office skills and practices;

(b) to promote an understanding and tolerance of cultural differences, and racial harmony; and

*Now the Training Services Division of the Manpower Services Commission.

(c) to assist the trainees to orientate themselves to the disciplines and attitudes demanded by a commercial employer".

"The course is not directed to meet any examination syllabus. *The aim is to make it possible for the trainees to reach a practical ability level acceptable to employers, to have confidence in carrying out an office job and to cope with most office jobs and most office situations.* The secondary aim of the course is to broaden the interests of the trainees. This will be done by getting to know the trainees personally, recognising their strengths and their weaknesses, and building on their interests and abilities".

This excerpt from Fullemploy's prospectus (April 1976) indicates that they were not planning to run a conventional vocational training course on office skills. Although the long-term objective, and also the ultimate test, is obtaining and keeping jobs, considerable emphasis is placed on the transition from a position of unemployment and disadvantage to one of greater employability. Emphasis is placed on individual needs, and the acquisition of attitudes and information, which might be referred to as the non-vocational skills necessary to successful working life. These are referred to as Life Skills* and are described on page 16.

It is clear that Fullemploy's aims go far beyond the conventional conception of vocational training. The TSA's main interest was in establishing a training course which would enable unemployed young people to reach a practical ability level acceptable to employers in the labour markets they intended to enter. Whilst the main criterion of success for the TSA was whether or not the trainees acquired skills which enabled them to obtain and retain employment, the course also has the broader aim of reducing individual disadvantage through an increase in the young people's employability. The acquisition of office skills, in the narrow sense, was a critical part of this, though by no means the only way in which it was attempted on the course. If, therefore, a trainee did not obtain an office job as a result of the course, this would not be considered a failure if at the same time there was evidence of an increase in employability. This guage of the success of the course is particularly important in a period of high unemployment when even highly employable workers fail to obtain jobs.

2. *The Trainees*

The course was aimed at unemployed young people experiencing social, educational or employment disadvantage, and who were unwilling to present themselves for conventional courses provided by the TSA. As a result of concentrations of young coloured people among the unemployed in London, the course was likely to be predominantly filled with young people of Asian or Caribbean descent. The trainees were to be at least 17 years old. No minimum

*The term Life Skills derives originally from the work of the Saskatchawan Training Development and Research Station, and the approach has been developed in this country: See M A Pearn (1976) The CRAMF Approach to the Teaching of Social and Life Skills. ITRU Publications, Cambridge.

standard of education was to be demanded and it was expected that few applicants would have any significant paper qualifications. They were required however, to have the ability, and a minimum standard of literacy, to undertake the course.

3. *Resources and Staffing*
Barclays supplied staff, premises and equipment, and were in charge of the day-to-day administration of the course. Fullemploy had an advisory and co-ordinating role and supplied a tutor in Life Skills, as well as an employment adviser. The level of resources planned (per student week) was based on Barclays' usual provision for its internal staff training. In particular this allowed for an instructor-trainee ratio of 1 to 6. In addition to the course co-ordinator, the staffing arrangements allowed for 2 full-time instructors, 4 part-time office-skills instructors, a full-time tutor in Life Skills, a member of staff who acted as an employment adviser and who was responsible for liaising with employers, and 2 clerical/administrative staff.

4. *Syllabus and Equipment*
The premises used were fully equipped with modern office machinery, and included a model office for training purposes. The planned syllabus covered a very broad range of practical and theoretical subjects. There was no standard time-table as this was to be decided and planned each week in the light of progress made.

5. *Counselling*
An important planned feature of the course was the emphasis on individual attention to trainees, and counselling. It was planned that the counselling would continue after the end of the course for as long as was necessary, but particularly in the early stages of employment. Much of the counselling was to be carried out by visiting volunteers who would form relationships with particular trainees during and after the course. This help was to be co-ordinated by Fullemploy.

6. *Location of the Course*
The course took place in the City of London in a building leased by Barclays Bank International.

(iv) The Evaluation Plan
The evaluation plan is based on the description of change in the trainees' aspirations, knowledge, and skill as a result of the course, and the way this relates to their employment/training performance in the six months following the course. The main sources of information used in the evaluation were:

(a) A record of jobs or further training obtained by the young people on completing the courses;

(b) The employment history of the ex-trainees in the six-month follow-up period;
(c) Employers, ratings of the employed ex-trainees; and
(d) The trainees' own reports about the courses and about their subsequent experiences.

The overall evaluation plan is illustrated in Fig. 2.

Standard interview forms and questionnaires were specially designed for the study in consultation with the TSA. In addition, existing on-course record forms were utilised for monitoring individual trainees' progress.

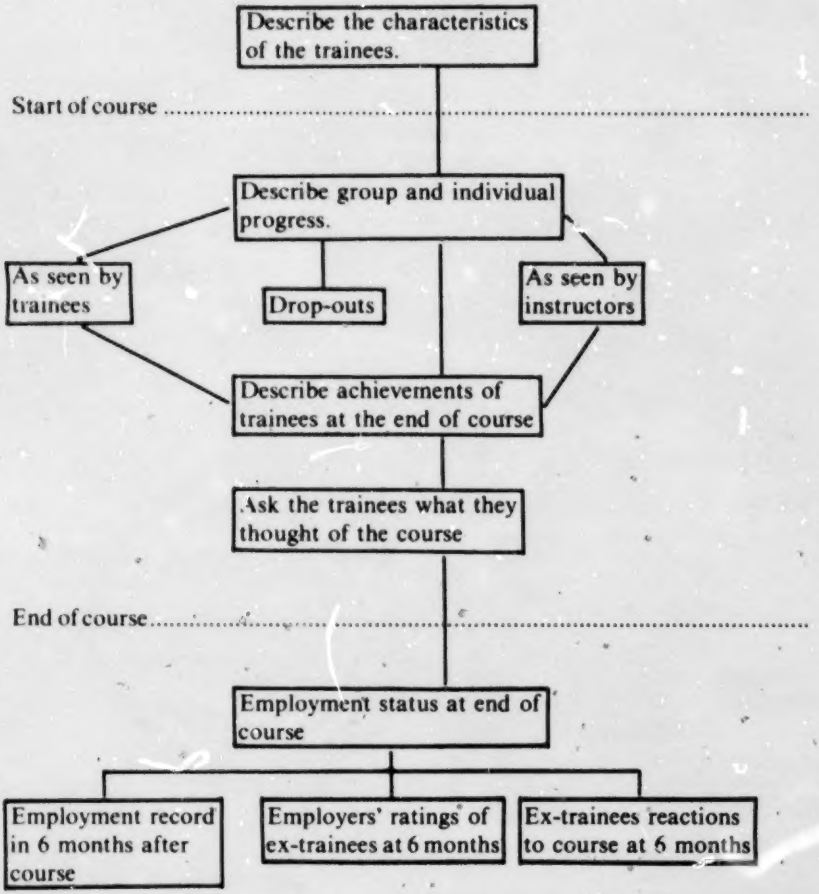
Only small numbers of trainees were involved, and there was no formal control group. Consequently individual variations in the trainees would be very apparent, and it was felt that this should be stressed rather than concealed within group-based statistics. As a result it is difficult or even impossible to draw systematic conclusions in a study of this nature.[1]

The first two Fullemploy courses were evaluated.

At the suggestion of the TSA, information was also gathered on an office skills course, which was being run in a London College of Further Education and which was also funded by the TSA. It was expected that the characteristics of the two groups of trainees would be broadly similar and that the same primary yardstick of success (subsequent employment history) could be used to assess the effectiveness of the two courses. It was agreed however, that the information gathered would be used to study the courses separately rather than to undertake a comparative evaluation of the two courses. It was not possible to undertake a systematic comparison, because the broad emphasis and approach of the two courses was not the same. In particular, the CFE course had a more structured approach, involving a rigid time-table and clearly defined terminal standards towards which the trainees worked.

The information gathered on the CFE and the Fullemploy courses differed in that the researchers did not interview the teaching staff at the CFE and did not follow the week-to-week progress of the trainees during the course. In addition different interview schedules were used with the two courses.

Critical Stages in the Evaluation


Describe the characteristics of the trainees.
Start of course
Describe group and individual progress.
As seen by trainees
Drop-outs
As seen by instructors
Describe achievements of trainees at the end of course
Ask the trainees what they thought of the course
End of course
Employment status at end of course
Employment record in 6 months after course
Employers' ratings of ex-trainees at 6 months
Ex-trainees reactions to course at 6 months

SOURCES OF DATA

1. A "Personal History" form filled in by the trainees.
2. Record of aspirations and expectations from induction interview.
3. Weekly monitoring and rating forms.
4. Interviews with drop-outs to determine reason for departure.
5. 'End-of-course' assessment by instructors.
6. 'End-of-course' questionnaire administered to trainees and instructors.
7. Job placement rates at end of course.
8. In-depth follow-up interviews with ex-trainees at 6 months.
9. Interviews with employer/supervisors.

Fig. 2 Evaluation Plan

II EVALUATION OF THE FIRST TWO FULLEMPLOY COURSES

(i) Information about the two courses can be found in Fig. 3

		First course	*Second course*
1.	Dates : started	3rd May to 23rd July 1976	4th October to 10th December 1976
2.	Duration of course :	12 weeks	10 weeks*
3.	Location :	Token House Copthall Avenue London EC2	Token House
4.	Number of trainees started :	26	24
	Number of trainees completed:	25	21
5.	Number of teaching and administrative staff		
	full-time	4	6
	part-time	8	2

Figure 3 Course information

(ii) Description of the Course

(a) Course content and methods

The syllabus was divided into three main areas, viz; office skills training, social and life skills training, and counselling.

Office skills training

These skills included typing, office practice, cash handling, and machine operating. In the original time-table this part of the syllabus was planned to take up 90% of the whole course but this was soon reduced to 60% in the first week, in order to deal with a range of problems which the instructors felt had to be resolved before any headway could be made. They soon realised that the trainees had brought with them many personal problems, and a great deal of time, especially in the first week but also throughout the course, had to be devoted to these day-to-day living problems, e.g. problems associated with social security claims, rent problems, and accommodation. In addition the instructors

* The decision to run a shorter (ten-week) course was made by the Fullemploy Board in order to keep the momentum from the first course going. In order to do this, they decided to squeeze the second course in before Christmas since the senior instructors felt that it would be very difficult to keep the momentum of the course going over the Christmas break.

introduced remedial English, (ie spelling, writing and reading) as well as remedial maths. The problems of remedial education became so acute that an English teacher had to be drafted onto the course.
Much of the office skills training was carried out on the premises. Trainees who showed a potential for machine operating (e.g. NCR 42 Savings Accountancy Machines) were moved to Barclays International for practice. Other equipment used included 16 Adler electric typewriters, cassettes containing typing lessons, and cassette recorders. In the book-keeping lessons trainees used small electronic calculators. A sophisticated range of equipment was available. In addition arrangements were made to meet the special interests of any student. For example, one student who expressed an interest in telex operation was able to go to a telex office, to try it out. In addition, those students who expressed an interest in telephone work or switch-board operation were trained on Barclay's own switch-board.

Despite the sophisticated range of equipment available, problems still arose when trainees applied for jobs. For example, some trainees who had been trained on machines used by Barclays International failed to obtain jobs with some employers because they did not use the same type of machines. Some trainees found it difficult to pass typing tests set by several employers, because they were using manual rather than the electric typewriters on the course. Manual typewriters were introduced during the second course.

Social and Life Skills Training

Social and Life skills as a subject was defined by Fullemploy as 'the discovery of social tools to assist in the achievement of individual goals, to stimulate motivation, to enhance self-confidence, a sense of independence, and self-esteem'. Central to the teaching of social and life skills by Fullemploy was the idea of *self-identity*. The discovery of self-identity revolved around three critical questions: (i) Who am I? (ii) Where do I fit in (iii) How do I get on? These questions were answered by understanding the origins of people in general and the origins and backgrounds of the trainees in particular.

Mainly through discussions, the place of each individual in society was explored. The trainees were helped to see how they fit in and belong to society. Stress was put on the fact that everybody depended on everyone else. They were made aware that they too contribute to society and this could be done even without formal educational qualifications.

Another topic considered was the *world of work*. An attempt was made to link this topic and the topic of self-identity. The questions why we work and what kind of work were considered. The different types of technical skills offered on the course were brought in and the trainees explored their relevance to society, and also to the individual practising them. Related topics were "how to succeed in work", and what employers expect of their employees. Trainees were also made aware of the fact that many employers conduct annual performance

appraisals. The need for, and the meaning of, discipline in relation to work was also explored, together with necessary survival skills, e.g. good time-keeping.

Under the topic of *inter-personal relationships*, the trainees considered how to communicate effectively. The trainees were made aware of the fact that there are often differences between how you communicate with friends, superiors, subordinates, and equals. The trainers found that a number of trainees were only vaguely aware of the need for differences in approach. This topic was also linked to the concept of hierarchy, its meaning, and how it forms part of society. Discussions were also held on the organisation of the country into national authorities, local authorities, the social services, the operation of law, crown courts, and the police.

Under the heading of *personal development* a number of topics were considered. These included grooming, personal finances, the need to plan your life, budgetting, the need for leisure time and how to finance it, how to complain effectively, the rights of the individual, and his/her responsibilities in general and in relation to work.

Emphasis was put on the need for youngsters to learn to be individuals. It was the contention of the life skills tutor that the youths had evolved a pattern of sticking together and working as a group because of what they saw as a hostile environment. This had to be faced and approached by stressing self-worth and identity.

The subject of *job-finding* was approached by exposing the trainees to the types of jobs available. The techniques of job-finding were considered, with emphasis placed on the need to sell oneself. The employers' view point in this interaction was also considered. The different ways of looking for job information were explored, e.g. newspapers, and private employment agencies. There were also practical sessions on filling in applications forms, and telephoning for jobs. Other topics were behaviour in an interview, presenting oneself, talking with other people, adapting oneself to other people, the importance of first impressions etc. Many of these exercises were carried out in practical sessions mostly using personnel staff from the organisations linked to Fullemploy. By using closed-circuit television the trainees were able to get effective feedback on their performance. The training also covered conduct after a job has been obtained. Finally, an important part of life and social skills development was the requirement that the trainees have lunch in the Barclays International canteen. For the first time many trainees had to eat in a large refectory with its unwritten norms and etiquette. To many of the trainees it was a nerve-racking but educative experience.

Counselling

Closely linked to the social and life skills training were the counselling sessions. Trainees with problems would go to any one of the instructors with whom they felt at ease, and explain their problems. Primarily it was the responsibility of the

West Indian member of staff recruited by Fullemploy, and who was responsible for the life and social skills teaching. There were no special counselling sessions on the time-table. Trainees were encouraged to talk to the instructors whenever they wanted to about their problems. Since the instructor-trainees ratio was high and all staff members made themselves readily available, this worked very smoothly. On the first course three members of staff had occasion to visit trainees' homes; one trainee was helped in dealing with a pending court case, and for another negotiations were carried on with Social Security on her behalf on a housing matter.

The methods used in Life and Social skills training were mainly discussions and the occasional film. Since the informal atmosphere on the course provided a situation where almost anything was possible there were many examples which were taken from the day-to-day experiences on the course, and these were used as topics for discussion. Trainees were also encouraged to narrate their daily experiences so that these could also be used as topics for discussion. Apart from real life examples, a typical topic may be introduced in the following way: the instructor asks, "How do you get what you want when you go to Social Security?" The following answer would not be untypical, "We shout, we bang the chairs, that is the only way to be listened to." Another topic may be opened by the following statement: 'The boss is never wrong.' The counselling and life/social skills training were critical ingredients of the Fullemploy approach.

(b) **Recruitment of the trainees**

Prospective candidates were approached in their own environment by Career's Officers, community workers or black project leaders, who explained the nature of the course to them. The "contact people" were briefed by Fullemploy. On the first course out of 39 applicants requested to go to the City for an interview only 28 turned up, and on the second course, out of the 47 invited, only 38 attended for an interview, despite the fact that their journeys would be paid for. In addition to suspicion of others at least two other explanations can be given to account for their failure to attend. One is the lack of self-confidence experienced by some of these youths. A good example was the candidate who managed to come all the way but was unable to take any interest in the proceedings and instead spent all the time looking out of the window. It was only the intervention of his project leader which saved him from being rejected. (This particular candidate was rated by instructors at the end of the course as having made real progress and was said to have shown a lot of potential.) Another contributing factor is the fear that many of them seemed to have of the City. An example of this was revealed during the follow-up study when one ex-trainee rated the course very highly because she no longer felt scared of the City.

The selection interview was informal. It consisted of a session with the life skills tutor and a specially briefed recruitment officer from Barclays. There were no specific selection criteria, though three general features were considered.

First, there was a preference for school-leavers with no educational qualifications who came from a disadvantaged background. Secondly, all those selected would normally have failed to obtain office employment with Barclays Bank International. Finally, one or two trainees were selected who were expected to present special difficulties.

The main reason for rejecting applicants was that they would not be able to benefit from the course. Among these, one was rejected because she was too young for the course, and another because she was considered too good for the course, and she was recommended for alternative training.

It is difficult to evaluate the strategy adopted for recruitment because of the small numbers involved. However it can be said that close link between the course and the recruiting sources created a chain of understanding and information through which the trainees to some extent selected themselves through negotiation with their 'link person' in the community project or other sources of recruitment.

This negotiation element had an added advantage for the prospective trainee as it represented a slow easing into the course, thus enabling them to overcome some of their anxieties and doubts about embarking on a training course in the City.

(c) **Characteristics of trainees**

All the trainees on the first course except two were recruited through community projects. There were 19 girls and 7 boys, with an average age of 19 years. Half the trainees were born in the UK. Four of these were white and the rest were of Caribbean or Asian origin. Of the remaining 13 trainees, 8 were born in the West Indies, 4 were African Asians, and 1 was born in the United States (of West Indian parents).

The median age the trainees left school was 16.3 years, and nine of them had no school qualifications whatever although two had GCE 'O' levels. Seven of the trainees had not previously held a job, and the overall median time unemployed prior to the course was 10 months. Most of the trainees also showed a poor employment record prior to the course. However, twelve of the trainees had done some form of office work prior to the course, and three of the boys and 4 of the girls had undergone some form of training prior to the course. Finally, twelve of the trainees, only one of whom was married, had dependent children to look after.

For the most part the trainees on the second course were fairly similar to those on the first, though the overall level of disadvantage appeared to be greater,* and there were proportionately more boys, (36% compared to 27% on the first course). An important difference was that seven of the trainees had attended detention centres (two of whom had caused grievous bodily harm) or were on

*An overall level of disadvantage cannot be quantified. This impression was based on the characteristics of trainees and on the judgements and ratings of the instructors.

probation. Just under a third of the trainees were born in the UK, in contrast to 50% on the first course. The two groups of trainees were similar in age, and the proportion who were unmarried parents was similar (10 out of 25). On the second course, a slightly higher proportion of the trainees had no school qualifications, and fewer had had previous working experience in an office, and fewer had undergone any form of previous training.

In general, the trainees conformed to the general selection criteria laid down by Fullemploy. Most of them would have experienced great difficulty in obtaining office jobs in the City, even though a significant proportion of them did have some form of educational qualification and relevant job experience. The level of educational disadvantage, in terms of school qualifications, was not as great as had been forecast, although some of the trainees had considerable problems with reading and writing.

The trainees on both courses had a variety of vocational training, social and welfare needs. The social and behavioural problems exhibited by the trainees stretched the instructors to their limits in their efforts to cope. The partnership between TSA, Fullemploy and Barclays International represented a combination of expertise and experience from different sources which were all brought to bear on the same problem. This in itself was something of an experiment and constituted an important feature of the exercise.

(d) A week-by-week account of the first Fullemploy Course

In order to give the reader a clearer idea of the Fullemploy course, a week-by-week description has been included in this report. This is followed by a brief account of some incidents on the first course, which helps capture its flavour.

Week 1

The first week was spent introducing the course to the trainees. All the trainees except two were on time on the first day. Much of the week was devoted to the study of the Buzan Learning Methods which were introduced to help the trainees learn more efficiently. With this method many trainees improved their reading speeds, and learned something of how their brains worked. Their self-reports indicate that this increased their self-confidence.

The instructors soon realised that many trainees had personal problems that had to be attended to before any headway could be made. These included social (e.g. dependent children, inadequate clothing) as well as educational problems (e.g. basic maths and English). The instructors also realised that Life Skills teaching would have to be brought into all aspects of the course, and not treated as a separate subject. There was a general feeling among the trainees at this stage that the course was not 'getting on with it'; the first week appeared to have little relevance to what they were expecting.

Week 2

This began with a large proportion of the first day being spent on commercial skills. The trainees were split into groups, viz, typists in one group and clerks in the other. Later in the week the trainees were introduced to a gymnasium. This was a very popular feature of the course, and helped to integrate the different ethnic groups, and the trainees as individuals. During the rest of the week, the course settled down to the formal syllabus and the trainees began to realise the relevance of the theoretical topics of the first week. By this stage the trainees began to feel that the course was worthwhile.

Week 3

Typing, office practice, and accounting machines were introduced. There was general excitement as the trainees felt that the 'real' work of the course had begun at last. Other subjects, introduced earlier, were followed up on a more practical basis. In this week, 5 trainees submitted evidence to and were cross-examined by, the House of Commons Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration. This was not a planned part of the course. It was initiated by the Life Skills tutor and used by him as a training exercise. He organised several group discussions and prepared a Memorandum for submission to the Select Committee. The trainees who attended the Select Committee were all volunteers. Some examples of statements from the Memorandum can serve to illustrate the attitudes and experiences of the West Indian trainees on the course:

> "Of all the grievance we face in this society, the most serious is the police. There are emotions, which this issue stirs up which you may not fully understand because you are white. As young black people we find it difficult to have any sense of pride in our communities, because of the ways in which the police abuse their powers".
>
> "There is nothing worse than the feelings of rejection by a society which has given you no skills, no hope, no positive self-image to enhance a sense of dignity and self-respect. Somehow that society has to pay."
>
> "We have not benefitted from the educational system. We have not been equipped with either social or academic skills. The lack of education makes it difficult for us to contribute to the country's economy and equally to ourselves."
>
> "Social Security provides a basic existence, but not enough for self-respect".

Weeks 4-5

After an initial period dealing mostly with basic education and personal problems the instructors reached a stage where they felt they could return to the original syllabus and teach office/commercial skills. The trainees, working in

groups, set up their own model office in which they carried out prescribed clerical duties. At this stage the trainees were becoming complacement as they felt, unjustifiably, that they had reached adequate standards, when in fact the average level of performance was still very poor. The instructors tried to communicate this to the trainees.

Week 6
This week was spent at Hindeleap Warren an outdoor centre. it was planned as a practical component of Life Skills development but was not regarded as a success. It exposed dramatic weaknesses as well as strengths amongst the trainees, both as individuals and in their relationships with each other. The week at Hindeleap is discussed separately on page 32.

Week 7
The model office practice was continued, but little work was done on the first day of the week as the hostility and informal discipline of the Hindeleap week appeared to spill over into the classroom. The following day, however, everyone with the exception of two students, was back in a serious and more constrained mood. Good progress was made during the rest of the week, with few problems arising.

Week 8
By this time students had split up according to their various specialised skills. Progress was reported in most cases. All the trainees were taught how to communicate effectively on the telephone.

Week 9
Each trainee was placed in an employer's office for one week of practical job experience.

Weeks 10-12
Group morale fell seriously during the last two weeks and general hostility was building up. This was interpreted by instructors as trainee anxiety over their prospects of getting a job. It was during this stage of the course that the trainees started seeking jobs.

INCIDENTS ON THE FIRST FULLEMPLOY COURSE

A solitary drop-out
In the 10th week one trainee was discharged from the course. She claimed that she had already decided to leave the course, and gave as her reasons that she realised that she was going to be dismissed anyway because she never did what she was told; that she felt she was not learning anything from the course; and that she always felt left out of the group. The course co-ordinator gave the following

reasons for her dismissal: her absenteeism and poor time-keeping; that she had a disruptive influence on the course; that she refused to learn to take responsibility for her actions; and that she had failed to conform to the standards of the course. The trainee only lasted until the 10th week because of the great efforts made by the staff to resolve the problem before resorting to dismissal. It is a reflection of the supportive atmosphere on the first course that the dismissal of one trainee should be an important incident.

Personal involvement of staff

Since the staff had been carefully selected and prepared for the course, they had some idea of the difficulties they were going to encounter. They soon discovered that almost all the trainees needed personal attention and care. The staff felt that effective learning would not otherwise be achieved. The following are examples of their involvement and commitment:

Loans were made available up to £5 to all those who wanted to borrow for specific approved needs. As the course progressed these loans were gradually stopped. All the loans were paid back. A total sum of £121.50 was loaned to eight trainees. At a later stage in the course a loan was only granted under special circumstances.

Eight trainees were found to have problems with their eye-sight. All eight were given loans, subsequently repaid, to cover the cost of glasses. The sum loaned is included in the total above.

Two trainees were found to have inadequate clothing. One trainee did not own a suitable pair of shoes, and was presented with a free pair by the instructors. Another trainee lacked both a presentable pair of shoes and trousers. He was given a free pair of shoes and a loan to purchase a suitable pair of trousers.

Negotiations with Social Security and housing departments over vital needs were conducted throughout the course on behalf of a small number of trainees.

Finally the trainees came face to face with discrimination.

A case of discrimination

> An Asian trainee, with a strong accent, telephoned XYZ Ltd for a job advertised in a newspaper. She was told there was no vacancy. Five minutes later another trainee, an Irish girl telephoned and was granted an interview. The Life Skills tutor contacted the Race Relations Board and two individuals, Indian and English respectively, phoned up for a job. The Indian was rejected, but the English 'applicant' was promised an interview. The trainees were not demoralised by this incident and were able to come to grips with it in a realistic way, and discussed the case extensively.

The case of discrimination that wasn't

A West Indian trainee rang up a Travel Agency requesting an interview for a job which was advertised. He was told that there was no job. A curious instructor, imitating a West Indian accent, and saying that he had been out of work for 7 months, telephoned the Agency requesting an interview, which was granted. The instructor then asked the trainee to repeat to him over the internal phone what he had said to the agency. He found that the trainee did not know what to say and spoke too quietly to be understood. The instructor prepared a checklist of what to say when telephoning for an interview which was given to every trainee.

(iii) Detailed Appraisal of the First two Fullemploy Courses

This report has so far rested largely on the presentation of factual data. In an attempt to bring together the various aspects and features of both courses, the researchers adopted a slightly different role. The chart lists on page 25 every aspect of the course on which information, ranging from the quantitative to the anecdotal, was collected. Against each item the researchers have placed a tick representing their overall evaluation. The evidence in support of the rating is presented in the following sections with the same numbering as the corresponding item in the chart.

The ratings of the first course are represented by • and the second course by ■.

Summary Evaluation Chart: Features of the Course

First Fullemploy course •
Second Fullemploy course ■

	v.good	good	fair	poor
1. Realisation of objectives				
(a) adherence to planned syllabus	• ■			
(b) enhanced self-confidence of trainees	• ■			
(c) enhanced employability of trainees in general		• ■		
2. Administration of course		•	■	
3. Organisation of course*		■	• ■	
4. Quality of teaching	• ■			
5. Quality and range of equipment/facilities	• ■			
6. Instructor/trainee ratio	■	•		
7. Flexibility of approach (planned)		• ■		
8. Adaptiveness of approach (unplanned)	•	■		
9. Orientation of course to job-seeking	■			•
10. Response of course to employers' needs		• ■		
11. Liaison with prospective employers		■	•	
12. (a) Emphasis on practical job experience		• ■		
(b) Work Experience Week		■	•	
13. Life Skills Training		• ■		
14. Discipline			• ■	
15 Atmosphere	•	■		
16. (a) Social activities	• ■			
(b) The week at an outdoor-centre**			•	
17. Cohesiveness of group (trainees and instructors)*		• ■	■	
18. Motivation of trainees	•	■		
19. Attitude of trainees to instructors	•	■		
20. Attitude of instructors to trainees		• ■		
21. Personal development of trainees	• ■			
22. Personal growth of instructors	• ■			
23. Attendance by trainees	•	■		
24. Trainees' punctuality		• ■		
25. Internal communication			• ■	

*a rating of "fair to good" for the second course
**the week at an outdoor centre was not a part of the second course

1. **Realisation of Objectives**

The course followed the syllabus which had been submitted to the TSA. In general it was efficiently run.

One very important measure of the success of the course is whether or not it subsequently leads to employment and to what type. Although it is recognised that the course was aiming at the total person and therefore obtaining a job as a criterion need not have assumed great importance in judging the success or failure of the course, this must nevertheless, be the case since the approach taken to solve the problem of disadvantage can not lead to any permanent change unless followed by useful employment. Following the diagram on page 7, solving the problem of disadvantage by tackling only the symptoms of disadvantage can lead to outcomes that are easily reversible. In other words after a time, a trainee who does not get a job quickly, may revert to his or her former ineffectual behaviour. It is of vital importance for the Fullemploy trainees to obtain jobs they have learned to aspire to as a result of the Fullemploy experience in order to retain and consolidate the gains they make from the course. Because of this argument, it can be said that the success of the course depends very much on its ability to place its trainees. This can only be fully judged from the follow-up study.

The trainees were not required to take any nationally recognised exam or attain a measured standard of proficiency, and so the success of the course in this respect can only be judged by the subjective reports of the trainers and trainees. Precise measurement of changes in social and life skills is more difficult. There was evidence from the end of course ratings by trainees and trainers to show that significant progress had been made, (see tables A and B).

It is significant that a considerable number of trainees mentioned the gaining of self-confidence as one of the reasons for greatly improving their chances of getting a job. There was a similarly optimistic attitude towards the rated success of the courses on the part of the trainers, although they were definitely more guarded about their achievements on the second course. They were also worried about two general problems they faced on both courses. They were very concerned with the problem of discipline, (See section 14 below). They were also worried about getting the right kind of trainee, because of the difficulties they encountered in handling such a heterogeneous group. They claimed that more time should have been spent assessing prospective trainees, and that trainees with at least some chances of working in an office should be recruited. There was a feeling on both courses that some trainees would never be able to work in an office.

On the first course this feeling applied to at least a third of the entire group who were, according to the course co-ordinator, too handicapped to stand the rigours of office routine. On the second course a larger number was considered to be not office material not because of any easily identifiable weakness, but because they did not appear to try at all. Motivating the trainees was a critical problem.

Table A. Trainee's evaluation at the end of the course

Trainees' Ratings of the course	Fullemploy I	Fullemploy II
Very Worthwhile	21	11
Worthwhile	4	7
Not very worthwhile	1	0
Reasons why trainees rated course "Very Worthwhile"		
emphasis on life skills	11	6
opportunity to learn commercial skills	8	6
better chance of getting a job	6	0
help with personal problems, gained confid[illegible]	4	0
other reasons	7	3

N.B. Some trainees gave more than one reason

Table B. Trainees' self-ratings of "Chances of getting a job" at the end of the course

Chances of getting a job	Fullemploy I	Fullemploy II
greatly improved	22	9
slightly improved	3	8
no change at all	1	1
Reasons for rating greatly improved		
gained/improved office skills	13	9
learned how to apply for jobs	3	0
improved self-confidence	11	3
others unclassifiable	3	0
Reasons for rating slightly improved		
gained/improved office skills	2	0
respondent handicapped by personal problems	1	0

N.B. Some trainees gave more than one reason

A general criticism that can be made here is that the course lacked systematic or quantitative assessments of each individual's progress and attainment. There was also no indication that the crude measures that were available were made use of by the instructors. This however, may not be a weakness itself as the problem-solving approach adopted by Fullemploy was not one that was easily amenable to quantitative assessment. It could be argued that an increase in the qualitative assessment skills of the instructors may have helped them to cope with the interpersonal and motivational problems which they encountered.

2. **Administration of the Course**

On the first course the administration was efficient and marked only by poor internal communications which deteriorated further on the second course. The main reason for the change in rating from 'Good' to 'Fair' on the second course is that there was some doubt among the instructors over who was actually in charge of the course. An additional, but still important, contributing factor was the physical layout of the building, which, being very spread out, made communication between instructors more difficult than it should have been.

3. **Organisation of the Course**

Both courses were occasionally disrupted by indiscipline. Another factor, which affected the first course particularly, was the realisation that skills were interdependent and that, for instance, typing cannot be taught if the trainees' communication skills are poor. This in itself was an important learning experience for the instructors who were accustomed to training young people with at least four 'O' levels.

The organisation of the second course continued to be Fair-to-Good. A problem of both courses was that the time-tabling was very elaborate, and the time-table was designed afresh each week. This has the advantage of considerable flexibility (rated highly below) but occasionally resulted in the trainees having no clear idea of what they were doing next, and sometimes gave them an impression of little continuity from week to week. This also made discipline more difficult to maintain.

4. **Quality of teaching**

At all times this was Very Good, employing a great variety of modern techniques (e.g. audio-visual methods, Buzan techniques*) and many visual and training aids. The trainees were enthusiastic about the Buzan techniques but the intensive three-day presentation in the first course was too long for most of them. Several of the instructors subsequentely used the Buzan techniques in teaching the trainees, but in the absence of any comparison data, it is impossible to evaluate the effectiveness of the new techniques, although they did appear to boost the trainees' morale and confidence. The Buzan techniques were not included in the second course as there was some doubt over their effectiveness, and because they were also a relatively expensive item. As the second course was only ten weeks it was dispensed with as an item which was not directly relevant to learning office skills. The rating in this section is not based on a quantitative assessment of the effectiveness of the teaching. The subjective rating rests on an overall impression of the approach adopted.

*The Buzan techniques derive from the series of BBC programmes which Tony Buzan developed and which was broadcast as "Use your Head". His basic approach is that learning becomes easier if the material is presented in a form which is related to the way in which the brain itself processes information. An important feature of the method is to teach the trainees a diagrammatic form of note-taking which is claimed to make comprehension and memorisation easier. See Buzan, T. "Use your Head". London BBC Enterprises.

5. **Quality and range of equipment/facilities**

The equipment and facilities were rated Very Good for number and variety, and as such represented a modern office environment. A danger is that, by standards outside banks and insurance offices, the equipment used might give a false impression of the more common office environment. On the second course manual typewriters were introduced to supplement the electric typewriters on the first course. In addition more commonly used equipment (e.g. accounting machines) was introduced in place of some items that were used only by Barclays.

6. **Instructor-trainee ratio**

The instructor-trainee ratio was difficult to calculate precisely, with 4 full-time and 8 part-time instructors. Some of the instructors had administrative duties as well. The best estimates is 1:6. It could be argued that there were too many instructors with too many individual specialisations and that the same effect could be achieved with fewer, less specialised tutors. This point is important since a major factor in the cost of the course is the cost of the instructors. The change of rating from Good (first course) to Very Good (second course) reflects an increase in the number of full-time instructors, and a reduction in the number of part-time instructors.

7. **Flexibility of approach (planned)**

This was Good on both courses and was probably enhanced by the high instructor-trainee ratio. There was considerable attention to individual needs at both the vocational and the personal level. This was appreciated by the trainees and must have contributed greatly to the good atmosphere of the course. At the end of the courses the instructors felt there was a need for more professional counselling, and that planning for the individual should be more systematic and should occur at an earlier stage in the course.

8. **Adaptiveness of approach (unplanned)**

On the whole this was a strong feature of the course. The instructors were conscious of learning as they went along, and they strived to adjust to situations as they occurred. They were very flexible and were responsive to the trainees' needs. The rating for the second course changed from Very Good to Good as a result of the poorer communication between instructors.

9. **Orientation of the course to job-seeking**

On the first course, orientation to practical job-seeking was Poor. In accordance with their original plan the instructors did not actively raise the topic, and encourage the trainees to apply for jobs, until very late in the course (9th-10th week). The trainees had been lulled into a false sense of security, and so anxiety and frustration emerged when they started to face the realities of job-seeking. The instructors subsequently realised that this should be an important practical

activity of the course from the outset. The improvement from Poor to Very Good on the second course was brought about by close liaison with, and regular visits from, ESA* officials, and the generation of discussion about obtaining jobs from an early stage in the course. This followed from a recommendation from the TSA arising out of the interim evaluation report on the first course. In addition on the second course, special voluntary job-hunting sessions were introduced from the 6th week onwards, though attendance by the trainees was sometimes poor. In discussion, the instructors placed emphasis on the need to undertake menial chores as a necessary part of any job. Despite this greater effort and intensive efforts by Fullemploy to assist the trainees with job seeking, only two trainees had found jobs by the end of the second course.

10. **Response of the course to employers' needs**

This was rated Good on the first course. There was a general and perhaps inevitable emphasis on banking in the teaching and in the Work Experience Week (see 12 below). There is a danger that the course may restrict the horizons (and therefore the options) of trainees seeking work, particularly in the period immediately after the course. This is not an argument for adjustment to poor, shabby office jobs, but rather for the development of adaptation to jobs in offices which may not be as smart or modern, perhaps as a stepping-stone to better jobs at a later stage. This was also rated Good on the second course. Office equipment more commonly found in less sophisticated offices (e.g. manual typewriters) was introduced, and the Work Experience Week was broadened slightly to include a greater variety of employers. This could however, be broadened still further.

11. **Liaison with prospective employers**

On the first course there was some confusion among the staff about whose responsibility it was to approach prospective employers. This resulted in unnecessary overlap. Consequently this feature was rated as Fair. In the absence of effective communication among the staff, liaison with employers did not prove very effective. In the second course this had improved to a rating of Good as a wider range of different types of employers were contacted, although there was still considerable emphasis on banking and insurance. In view of the relatively large number of ex-students from the first course employed by banking or insurance organisations (N = 8), this bias appears justified, although the other six students who were in employment at the time of the 6-month follow-up interviews were employed in other sectors.

12. **Emphasis on practical job experience: Work Experience Week**

On the first course the trainees spent the whole of the ninth week working in a real office. Two of the trainees liked the experience but the rest found that the

*Now Employment Service Division.

working week did not relate to the skills they were learning. Many of the tasks they were given were not real but specially created for them and tended to be uniform and repetitive. Some of the trainees spent a lot of time doing unproductive or unpopular routine tasks and although this could be seen as valuable working experience, there may have been too much contrast between the variety and interest of the course and the routine nature of many jobs.

Practical experience was rated Fair on the first course. It was rated Good on the second course because of the better organisation of the Working Week. The co-operating employers were better briefed than on the first course and there were fewer surprises. One trainee opted out of his Work Experience week through lack of confidence to continue. An additional Work Experience Week, or several shorter periods in a variety of locations, would greatly enhance the practical side of the course, particularly if the placements were relevant to the skills being learned.

13. Life Skills training

This was rated Good on both courses and was a feature of the courses that was highly valued by both the trainees and the instructors. This is illustrated by the fact that Life Skills training was extended to all aspects of the course. From questionnaires, given to the trainees both at the end of the course and six months later, it is clear that the most important single reason for rating the courses either Worthwhile or Very Worthwhile was the life skills component.

The life skills tutor was a West Indian community worker and writer who was a member of the former Race Relations Board West Metropolitan Conciliation Committee. He is not a trained instructor although he has considerable lecturing experience. His approach rested heavily on the trainees identifying with him as a fellow West Indian holding a prominent position in British society. In this he appears to have succeeded, though his programme (described on page 16) lacked systematic planning and did not involve an assessment of individual training and development needs. There was no attempt to measure change and progress in the individual, though the tutor's method blended discussion and counselling with direct instruction. There might be some value in adding formal Life Skills training techniques based on the Saskatchawan Newstart Programme* as a supplement to the approach already adopted.

The Life Skills sessions do not appear to have been as popular with the trainees on the second course as they were with the trainees on the first. Part of the problem was the difficulty experienced by the instructors in motivating the trainees generally, some of whom were more difficult to handle than on the first course.

14. Discipline

This was rated Fair on both courses. In their efforts to provide a sympathetic

*See D. S. Conger (Ed) (1973) Readings in Life Skills. Saskatchawan: Training Research and Development Station.

environment the instructors on the first course, decided to allow discipline to be informal and relaxed. This was exploited by some trainees and things sometimes got out of hand, particularly during the week at the country centre (see 16 below). The instructors later agreed that discipline should be firmer and the trainees themselves supported the need for firmer discipline. On the second course an attempt was made to be more formal, with more rules and regulations. The difficulty appears to lie, not so much in a lack of ability to enforce discipline, but rather a question of finding the appropriate level of discipline. On the one hand, there are the demands of a realistic office environment (e.g. strict time-keeping, rules or conventions concerning dress and appearance), and on the other, the need to avoid alienating the trainees.

On the second course the instructors instituted stricter discipline, more appropriate to a normal office, but this declined towards the middle of the course, to the point where some students complained that the lack of discipline interfered with their ability to work. The disciplinary issues pertained to such matters as not smoking or eating in class rather than more formal rules.

15. **Atmosphere**

Despite tenseness in the closing weeks of the first course, and periods when the lack of discipline created problems, the general atmosphere was friendly, helpful and supportive. This feature was appreciated by the trainees. Although the atmosphere on the second course generally continued to be friendly and supportive, the rating changed from Very Good to Good. Part of the problem lay in the different leadership-style adopted on the second course, the poor internal communications caused by the physical layout of the building and the characteristics of the trainees themselves. By comparison with the first course, there was also less emphasis on individual counselling by instructors, as opposed to the Life Skills tutor. This appeared to affect the general atmosphere of the course and in particular the general supportiveness.

Consequently there was a shift between the courses in the reasons for ratings given to the courses, (See Table A). The trainees on the first course mainly stressed Life Skills training whereas the second course trainees put equal emphasis on Life Skills and the acquisition of commercial skills.

16. **Social activities and the week at the country-centre** (First course only)

Social activities were rated Very Good on both courses. They included a visit to the theatre, and weekly visits to the gymnasium which were generally very popular. The morale and cohesiveness of the group (see 17 below) was greatly enhanced by these activities.

The objective of the week in the country was to give the trainees a chance to get away from their normal surroundings, into a more free environment as part of their Life Skills training. Many of the activities were recreational, but as the trainees were attempting them for the first time, they revealed themselves in a new light.

For the staff, the venture was, in the main disappointing, particularly as it cost £719 for the week.* According to one instructor: "The trainees resorted to the behaviour they had displayed on the first day of the course". They were reported to have been contemptuous of authority, to have displayed a lack of motivation or initiative, and to have refused to be punctual. They were also defensive, aggressive and pessimistic. It looked to the instructors as if the trainees had not profited from the course at all. They felt, however, that a lot was learnt about the trainees and claimed that, on reflection, the trainees were able to look at themselves in a new light and this had resulted in greater self-awareness.

The behaviour of the trainees at the country-centre can be seen as a natural development of the 5th week where the increasingly unruly atmosphere eventually expended itself. In this way it acted as a natural outlet so that trainees were able, after they had discussed and analysed their behaviour, to continue with a more responsible attitude to the course. The country-centre was not a feature of the second course as it only lasted ten weeks. The week in the country was dropped because the instructors had some doubts about its value. They do not, however, discount the possibility of repeating the week in a later course since they feel that some of the problems were the result of its organisation and the fact that the trainees did not have the regular group leader (supplied by the centre).

17. Cohesiveness of the group

With the exception of one dismissed trainee, on the first course relationships within the group were generally Good. There appeared to be no favouritism. Many of the trainees benefited from the loan system, or gifts from Barclays. The change in rating from Good to Fair on the second course reflects the lack of unity in the course leadership, and the tendency among trainees to form factions. In particular, the Jamaicans, all coming from South or East London, formed a distinct sub-group. The instructors were very concerned about this development which occurred in the middle of the course and persisted to the end.

18. Motivation of trainees

This was generally Very Good on the first course, and is confirmed by the trainees' criticism of the course as being generally too noisy, needing firmer discipline, and by their desire to start learning skills at the outset of the course. The change in rating from Very Good to Good on the second course reflects differences in the characteristics of the trainees recruited to the second course. At least seven of the trainees were thought by the instructors to be unsuitable for work in an office. Some had joined the course straight from detention centres and others were thought by the instructors to be more suitable for an ESD Employment Rehabilitation Centre. There was a small but significant proportion of trainees whom the instructors had difficulty motivating.

*This includes the cost of travel at £69.

19. Attitude of trainees to instructors

Generally speaking the attitude of trainees to the instructors was Very Good on the first course. This is reflected in the trainees' ratings. They described the instructors as 'understanding, honest, helpful, trusting'. In spite of the fact that particularly difficult youths were recruited to the course, and that there were neither formal rules nor any obvious ways of enforcing the few informal rules, there was a great reluctance on the part of the trainers to dismiss those trainees who would normally be dismissed on more conventional courses. On the first course however one trainee had to be dismissed. On the second course the trainees' attitude was less favourable. In three distinct cases three different trainees had particular difficulties in their relationship with the instructors. Even then only one of the 4 trainees who left the course was dismissed. Because of this apparent uneasiness in trainee-instructor relationships the rating changed from Very Good to Good for the second course.

20. Attitude of the instructors to the trainees

On both courses this was rated as Good. In general the instructors' attitude may be summed up as committed, understanding and sympathetic. This is reflected in the trainees' ratings of the instructors. There may be a case for arguing that there was an underlying desire to 'give the kids a good time'. In the context of the lax discipline, the system of loans to trainees, gifts of clothing, free lunches, visits, outings, the gymnasium and the week in the country, it might be argued that their positive ratings of the course were strongly influenced by these factors. This may well be the case but could also be regarded as essential to achieving the major goals of the course. With poor morale, low motivation and no group identity it is unlikely that the trainees could learn effectively and overcome their lack of confidence and hostility. It is difficult to say which view is correct; truth often lies somewhere between two extremes. Only the follow-up study would reveal whether the trainees acquired useful vocational and life skills.

21. Personal development of the trainees

Systematic evidence was not available which could be used to determine whether the trainees underwent any personal growth during the course. The researchers did not attempt to define 'personal growth' but recorded trainees' reports which could be classified as indicative of growth. The instructors' ratings of the individual trainees suggest that in at least a number of cases there was personal growth.

This is supported by the reactions to the course of 16 of the trainees. This was, accordingly, rated Very Good on both courses. Case Study II below describes one example of personal development among the trainees.

CASE STUDY II

Y is a 21 year old woman. Her parents were divorced when she was six and she lived with her mother. They often became involved in heated arguments which ended in violence. Y was then sent to a school for the maladjusted which she found more violent than she could take. To survive, she told herself that she would have to exercise a certain level of violence. When she felt she could take no more of this, she ran away. According to Y she has had little contact with understanding and sympathetic figures in authority. She describes her past as very violent: "I have done everything that can be done". On the course, Y emerged as a very strong leader and looks forward to going to college in order to become a social worker. She feels that such a job will enable her to help those people who risk making the same mistakes. The best that could happen to her, would be the ability to have total control of herself emotions, fears, and desires. The worst would be to return to her violent past.

Another indication of personal growth was obtained six months after the trainees had left the course. In their long term plans the largest group (42%) stressed the need to develop themselves usually by means of promotion or training. Aspirations ranged from accountancy training and book-keeping to social work.

22. **Personal growth of instructors**

From their self-ratings the instructors learnt something about themselves, about others, and also about the problems of coloured youngsters, and particularly the effects of disadvantage on the individual. There was an increased understanding among the instructors of the viewpoint and values of many of the young black trainees particularly with regard to their feelings about being black, and the racism of British society. The personal growth of the instructors was rated Very Good on both courses.

23. **Attendance**

This was rated Very Good on the first course as there was practically no absenteeism. This is quite remarkable in view of the location of the course in the City, which meant long journey times for most of the trainees. Some trainees claimed that the City no longer scared them. The change from Very Good to Good for the second course is a reflection of the fact that four trainees discontinued, and two others were irregular in attendance during the Work Experience Week. The voluntary job-hunting sessions were often poorly attended.

24. **Punctuality**

On the whole time-keeping was Good, though the informal discipline at times resulted in poor time-keeping.

25. **Internal communication**

Internal communications were no more than Fair on both courses. The difficulty arose for a variety of reasons, some of which have already been noted, viz lack of clarity concerning responsibilities, physical separation of the Fullemploy and Barclays teams (at least during the first course), and a certain amount of conflict on ideological grounds among some of the staff. This did not seriously affect the running of the course except that it caused some administrative difficulties. Communication improved slightly on the second course as the result of a clearer demarcation of separate responsibilities.

(iv) **Employment history after the course**

(a) *Jobs obtained by the trainees on completion of the courses*

The Fullemploy trainees on the first course started to look for jobs actively around the 9th week of the course. The table below gives the results of this activity by the end of the course. Active job seeking was not a built-in feature of the CFE course, and none of the trainees had obtained a job by the time the course finished.

		Fullemploy I	Fullemploy II
Job placement	permanent job	6	2
	temporary (Barclays)	6	0
	have no job	4	11
	waiting to hear	8	8
	on holiday	1	0
	Totals	25	21

Six of the Fullemploy I trainees were temporarily employed by Barclays Bank International for two months in order to consolidate the skills that they had acquired. Five of these were machinists, the other a typist/clerk. The other jobs were two typists, two clerks, and two machine operators.

The picture for the second course was very different. On completion of the course only two trainees had obtained permanent jobs (both clerical). The practical job-seeking function appeared to be more intensive and better organised than on the first course, particularly with close liaison with the ESA. Paradoxically, fewer trainees obtained employment immediately on completion of the course. Part of the difficulty lay in the reluctance of employers to

recruit new staff immediately before the long Christmas break. In addition, the characteristics of the trainees themselves may have contributed to the low rate of securing jobs at the end of the course.

The CFE trainees had either to rely on their own initiative in seeking jobs, or they could use their local Careers Services which had an office in the College. The CFE trainees were also at a slight disadvantage in comparison with the Fullemploy trainees in that their course finished on the last day of the college term prior to the vacation, making it difficult for them to retain contact with their instructors. In contrast, there was considerable contact between Fullemploy staff and at least some of the ex-trainees.

(b) *The six-month Follow-up study*

Following the agreed plan, trainees from the Fullemploy and CFE courses were contacted six months after they left their respective courses. They were personally interviewed using a standard form. Most of the ex-trainees agreed to be interviewed in their own homes. Each trainee contacted, who was in employment at the time, was asked to grant permission for the researcher to interview the ex-trainees immediate supervisor or employer. All trainees from the first Fullemploy course agreed, and all but one from each of the other courses.

Table C Course and Follow-up information

	Fullemploy I	Fullemploy II	CFE
Course ended	23.7.76	10.12.76	10.7.76
Number of trainees who completed the course	25	20	15
Not contacted	0	0	1
Number employed at end of course	13	2	0
Follow-up contacts			
Trainees interviewed	22	16	10
Refused interviews	0	0	2
Trainees not contacted	3	4	2
Employed now	13	6	5
Employers interviewed	10	4	4
Employers not contacted	3	2	1

Of the 25 Fullemploy I trainees two could not be traced and one was in prison. (See Table C). Of the 13 Fullemploy I employers to be interviewed 3 were not contacted in the time available. Of the 20 Fullemploy II trainees 16 were interviewed, two could not be traced, and the others could not be contacted after

several attempts. Of the 6 Fullemploy II employers, one was not interviewed because the ex-trainee would not reveal the name and address of his employer. Of the 14 CFE trainees to be contacted, two refused interviews and 2 could not be traced. Of the original 15, one had refused to be interviewed while he was on the course. No further attempts were made subsequently to contact him in the follow-up study, leaving 14 to be contacted. Of the five CFE employers to be contacted one trainee withheld permission to interview his supervisor.

A total of 60 trainees were to be contacted from the CFE and the two Fullemploy courses. The research assistant managed to find a total of 50 students, a high contact-rate, out of which only 2 refused to be interviewed. The significance of the contact-rate can be judged by the following:

A total of 89 journeys were made for 48 trainee interviews, averaging 1.8 attempts per successful interview. The research assistant was greeted with suspicion, evasion, or disinterest by some trainees and was welcomed by others. Frequent changes of address made finding individuals particularly difficult. In addition, many of the trainees lived in deprived areas, though a very small proportion came from well-off families.

(a) Employment history

The first measure of the success of the Fullemploy course is the employment history of the ex-trainees in the six-month period following the course. Thirteen of the twenty-four Fullemploy I trainees (52%), were employed at the time of the interview (see Table D). Only six out of the 18 on whom information was obtained from the Fullemploy II course were in employment at the time of the interview. Even if the one trainee from the Fullemploy II course, who was changing jobs and was due to start the following week, is added to the six in employment, the proportion for Fullemploy II is well below that for Fullemploy I.

Table D Employment status at time of the six-month interview

	Fullemploy I	Fullemploy II	CFE
Employed	13	6	5
Unemployed	10	11	9
Waiting to start	0	1	0
Prison	1	0	0
Job Creation Programme	1	0	0
Missing information	0	3	0

Most of the Fullemploy I ex-trainees were employed in banking and insurance in the City, doing general clerical work and typing, with a median salary of £44 p.w. before tax. Eight of the ex-trainees held jobs with employers who were part of the Fullemploy consortium.

Table E Type of work at time of follow-up interview

	Fullemploy I	Fullemploy II	CFE
clerical (general)	7	6	5
Office Machinery	4	0	0
Kitchen Porter	1	0	0
relief warden (hostel)	1	0	0

By comparison, the smaller number of Fullemploy II trainees in employment were spread across a wider range of employers and industries. None of the trainees were employed by Barclays or the other companies in the Fullemploy consortium. All the trainees were doing general clerical work, with a high median weekly wage (£39 p.w.).

The Fullemploy ex-trainees from both courses tended to be employed by large organisations which also have a specialised training function, and which were mostly located outside the trainees' local area.

Seven out of twenty two Fullemploy I trainees and nine out of sixteen Fullemploy II trainees had not obtained a job since leaving the course. Of the ten Fullemploy I trainees unemployed at the time of the interview five had previously held jobs, and only two of the Fullemploy II trainees were in this position. There were no differences in the characteristics of the Fullemploy trainees who had not obtained any employment since the course, compared to those who had obtained at least one job. This only applied to Fullemploy I trainees on whom the most detailed personal details were obtained.

The employed Fullemploy trainees from both courses had been in their present jobs for a large proportion of the follow-up period, indicating a degree of stability. All of the trainees who were employed at the time of the interview still retained the first job obtained after the course. Three of the Fullemploy I trainees, and one Fullemploy II trainees, had received some form of training since the course.

The findings were inspected to determine whether certain factors are more likely than others to be associated with whether or not a trainee was employed at the time of the six-month interview.* A great variety of factors were examined, (including sex, age, qualifications, ethnic origin, previous experience and domestic circumstances). In most cases there was no relationship at all, or there was a weak relationship after one course, but not for the other. This could well result from the small size of the samples, and would not necessarily mean that there is no relationship. Among the more interesting trends were the following:

(a) previous clerical experience did not give an advantage over those with no clerical experience;

(b) school qualifications appeared to help on the first course but not on the second;

(c) ethnic origin did not appear to make any difference; and

*The small sample numbers together with the unreliability of the data base prevented statistical analysis.

(d) being unmarried with dependents did not reduce the chances of being employed.

These are interesting findings, but cannot be considered reliable because of the small numbers involved.

An interesting feature of the findings was that not one Fullemploy trainee gave racial discrimination as a reason for not obtaining a job. This was not the case with the CFE trainees who frequently alledged discrimination. The Fullemploy trainees reluctance to see racial factors behind their failure to obtain jobs could be taken as a measure of racial tolerance achieved as a result of the life skills training and counselling.

Five out of the fourteen CFE trainees were employed at the time of the follow-up interview. The jobs were mostly obtained with local employers (though some belonged to national chains). The average weekly wage was £28 per week. To a large extent this reflects wage levels in that part of London, in contrast to the higher levels in the City. Two of the ten CFE trainees interviewed had not obtained employment since the course. Three CFE trainees who were unemployed at the time of the interview had previously held jobs in the follow-up period. Two of these had held temporary jobs and the third claimed that he left because he strained his shoulder lifting heavy weights. The employed CFE trainees had held their present jobs for an average of two months. A considerable part of this period was spent in job-searching as job placement was not a feature of the overall approach of the CFE course. This would also explain the findings that the CFE trainees tended to take longer obtaining their first job on completion of the course.

(b) Supervisors' Ratings

The second major index of the effectiveness of the Fullemploy course is whether or not the ex-trainees made good employees. Very favourable ratings by supervisors of the Fullemploy I trainees were obtained in respect of readiness to learn, time-keeping, relationship with work-mates and with supervisors, appearance, and readiness to work hard, (see Table F). This is significant since no special provisions by their present employers are made for unmarried parents. The findings for Fullemploy II do not repeat this pattern and the relationship is less clear. For Fullemploy I ex-trainees, good ratings were obtained for overall proficiency (only two were below average). Poor ratings were obtained for accuracy and efficiency, initiative and for morale and motivation. Out of a potential maximum of 100 there were no ratings of Poor, 12 ratings of Below Average, and 31 ratings Fairly Good and 28 of Very Good.

The criticisms made by supervisors tended to focus on adequacy of job performance, anxiety and lack of initiative. With the exception of only two of the employed trainees, supervisors were quite pleased with the work standard, and felt they had sufficient potential for the job. The two exceptions are two female trainees who are described in Case Studies III and IV below. Interestingly, both these trainees, employed by banks, had been considered to be among the most promising on the course.

Table F. Supervisors' Ratings of Ex-trainees

	Very Good			Fairly Good			Average			Below Average			Poor		
	Fullemploy			Fullemploy			Fullemploy			Fullemploy			Fullemploy		
	1	2	CFE	1	2	CFE	1	2	CFE	1	2	CFE	1	2	CFE
readiness to learn and adaptability	4	4	2	3	—	—	2	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—
accuracy and efficiency	1	2	1	3	2	1	3	—	1	2	—	1	—	—	—
morale and motivation	3	1	2	2	3	—	3	—	—	2	—	2	—	—	—
initiative	1	3	1	3	1	—	4	—	1	2	—	2	—	—	—
time-keeping	3	1	3	3	3	1	2	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
relationship with work-mates	4	4	2	2	—	1	4	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
relationship with immediate supervisor	4	4	3	3	—	—	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
appearance	4	2	2	3	2	1	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
readiness to work hard	4	3	2	3	1	—	2	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	—
overall proficiency at job	0	1	2	6	3	—	2	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	—
Totals	28	25	19	31	15	4	28	0	9	12	0	6	0	0	0

CASE STUDY III

M is twenty years old with a 7 month-old daughter, living with her common-law husband. Before joining the course, she worked in three separate jobs and was unemployed at least three times. This was because she was not interested in work. In winter for example she would not bother to look for jobs because it was too cold. She obtained four CSEs. When she came to the course, she expressed a strong interest in machine operating and performed well. M obtained a job in a bank as a computer terminal operator but found it rather difficult to use the type of machine used in the particular bank. She became very anxious to do well and this greatly affected her performance.

CASE STUDY IV

T is a twenty-year old unmarried mother. She completed school with 5 CSEs and got a job straight away. On the course she was one of the best at typing and had an idea that she was promised a job with a Bank after the course. Because of these two factors she was unable to concentrate on the course and she did not make full use of what it had to offer. When she eventually obtained a job she did not perform well, and as a result she was returned to the training centre for further training. Her performance was poor because she had become too anxious. This was aggravated by her lack of confidence. About this she said: "If I am called upon to do something, I will do it but inside I am scared stiff thinking that it is the wrong thing I am doing".

It is difficult to analyse the supervisors' ratings for the Fullemploy II and the CFE courses because only four employers could be interviewed for each group of trainees. There is, however, a slight tendency for the Fullemploy II trainees to be rated 'above average', and for the CFE trainees to be rated 'below average', particularly on morale and motivation; and initiative.

The Fullemploy II trainees (N = 4) were rated above 'average' on every item in the check-list. This is supported by the measure of overall effectiveness as an employee, in terms of the supervisor ratings which were above 'average' (viz. Very Good or Fairly Good). Fullemploy I trainees received 59 above average ratings out of a maximum of 200 (29%), Fullemploy II received 40 out of a maximum 80 (50%) and the CFE trainees received 23 out of a maximum of 80 (29%).

It should be stressed however that the ratings are not reliable as a measure due to individual variation in the raters, and in this case, the small numbers involved. In spite of this the general trend of the findings is consistent with other information obtained, and it could be argued that an employer's ratings are perhaps the most important measure of an employee's worth, regardless of his or her qualifications.

(c) The Trainees' Reactions to the Course at Six Months

The final measure of the effectiveness of the course is embodied in the reactions

of the ex-trainees themselves. By this measure, the majority of the Fullemploy trainees from both courses felt that their course had helped them. The Fullemploy I trainees tended to stress the value of social skills, assistance with job-seeking, and commercial skills. By contrast, the Fullemploy II trainees stressed social and commercial skills, but not job seeking. These high ratings are reflected in the fact that 90% of the Fullemploy trainees rated the course Very Worthwhile or Worthwhile (see Table G). Ten out of twenty two Fullemploy I trainees rated the course Very Worthwhile. Five out of seventeen Fullemploy II trainees gave the rating Very Worthwhile but four of them later rated the course Not Very Worthwhile or Waste of Time.

The trainees on both Fullemploy courses had changed their ratings from those that they gave at the end of the course. The downward shift can be judged in the light of comments made by some Fullemploy trainees: "The course was enjoyable but not very useful" and "It was fun while it lasted".

Table G. Overall evaluation of the course on completion, and at the six-month interview for Fullemploy and the CFE courses.

	Fullemploy I		Fullemploy II		CFE	
Evaluation	At 6 mths after the course	At the end of the course	At 6 mths after the course	At the end of the course	At 6 mths after the course	the course
Very worthwhile	10	21	5	11	1	0
Worth-while	10	4	8	7	8	13
Not very worthwhile	2	1	1	1	0	1
Waste of time	0	0	3	0	0	0

In terms of their long-term plans, a large proportion of Fullemploy I trainees stressed personal advancement (Table H). The Fullemploy trainees stressed the need to develop themselves, usually by means of promotions or training. Aspirations ranged from accountancy training and book-keeping to social work. (See Case Study II).

Table H Long-term plans of the ex-trainees

	Fullemploy		CFE
	I	II	
None	4	3	3
Don't know	2	0	1
Develop myself, be promoted, obtain training	9	9	3
Get a job	4	4	3
Want to return home	0	3	0
Miscellaneous	3	1	0

As a supporting measure the interviewer's overall observations of the interviewees were analysed (see Table I). The general picture is one of extremes. The Fullemploy trainee ranged from extremely optimistic and happy (N= 7) to a situation of extreme depression and disadvantage (an unmarried mother who was pregnant and unemployed) and excessive anxiety about jobs.

Table I Interviewers' overall impression of individual trainees at end of six-month interview.

	Fullemploy		CFE
	I	II	
Impressions:			
None	4	3	0
Anxious about getting new job (present job ending)	1	0	0
Over-anxious about job performance	2	0	0
Satisfied with outcome of course	7	5	4
Resigned to situation[1]	2	1	0
Bitter and depressed[2]	2	3	3
Actively seeking jobs, not disheartened[3]	3	2	1
Carefree	1	2	0
Disappointed	0	0	2

Notes

1. In one case this was a trainee resigned to staying in a disliked job; the others were unemployed.
2. This group consisted of trainees who were unemployed in addition to being unmarried with dependents, or living with parents, or pregnant.
3. This group included one trainee from Fullemploy II who planned to seek jobs actively once he had resolved some personal problems.

On the whole, approximately a third of the trainees from the two courses were satisfied with the outcome of their respective courses. Nearly all of these were in employment, although there were a number of trainees from Fullemploy II who were not employed yet still satisfied.

The majority of the CFE trainees felt that the course had helped them, and stressed the value of acquiring office skills. No mention was made of any life skills teaching, which although it was a planned part of the syllabus, was not such an important component of the overall course. Thirteen out of the fourteen trainees rated the course Worthwhile, and there was no change from the ratings given at the end of the course six months earlier. Most of the CFE trainees said they would recommend the course to their friends and the employed trainees were generally satisfied with their present circumstances. In many respects the CFE trainees and Fullemploy II trainees' responses were similar, though they

both tended to differ from, Fullemploy I responses. However, the CFE trainees did differ significantly from the two Fullemploy groups in terms of long-term plans, since a smaller proportion (3 out of 10) mentioned their plans to develop and advance themselves compared to nine out of twenty two for Fullemploy I and nine out of twenty for Fullemploy II. The interviewer's overall impressions at the end of the follow-up interview were fairly similar to those for the Fullemploy courses, though there appeared to be less job-related anxiety among the CFE trainees. Two of the CFE trainees were clearly disappointed with the whole course, while the rest of the group were generally satisfied with the course.

III Discussion and conclusions

As a preliminary to the final discussion of the results it may be useful to present systematically the characteristics of the Fullemploy courses, and the CFE course. The differences are presented schematically in Fig. 4. The comments on the CFE course are based on the researchers' observations, the reports of the CFE trainees and discussions with the course organiser. The researchers were not present on a week-by-week basis during the running of the CFE course.

On the evidence available, the Fullemploy courses appear to improve the employability of the trainees. This is particularly true for the first course in terms of numbers employed, levels of earning, job stability, and the nature and location of employers. The Fullemploy II and CFE courses were similar to each other in terms of increased employability as measured by these criteria, except that both Fullemploy courses resulted in higher weekly earnings. From the employers' viewpoint the ratings of trainees from both Fullemploy courses were very good. In general the ratings for the CFE trainees tended to be lower, though comparisons are made difficult by the small numbers in the sample. It can be seen that Fullemploy met its objectives by running a commercial skills training course which produced trainees who could obtain and retain jobs, even in times of very high youth unemployment. It does appear, however, that the first course was more successful than the second, despite the improvements that were incorporated following the interim evaluation of the first course. These were mainly designed to improve the orientation of the course to practical job-seeking.

The report of the follow-up study has, of necessity, concentrated on numbers in order to isolate trends. Even though efforts were made to concentrate on individual circumstances, the numerical data are shorn of the personal details which can determine the success or otherwise of the course in helping the individual. On the one hand, there are the two female trainees who were performing very well in their jobs (see case study V below), and on the other, there is the trainee on whom the course appeared to have no impact whatever (see case study VI).

	Fullemploy	CFE course studied
1. Location	City, office building	Local college
2. Syllabus	broad-based	syllabus broad-based but actual course content narrow
3. Equipment	ample and (perhaps, too) sophisticated	limited range, often old
4. Instructor: trainee ratio	1 : 6	1 : 16
5. Life Skills/ counselling	full-time (untrained) tutor, important part of the course	officially part of the syllabus but little in practice
6. Extra curricular activities for trainees	varied + weekly gym	weekly gym
7. Teaching	sophisticated and varied	traditional techniques
8. Terminal standards	none	rigorous standards
9. Environment	office-like very spacious	College class-room, and cramped
10. Job placement	essential part of the overall approach	not a feature of the course except that provided by Careers Service & ESA
11. Atmosphere	Sometimes too informal otherwise good	more disciplined generally good
12. Group cohesion (trainees & staff)	very good (second course : Fair)	(insufficient data)
13. Overall approach to the course	social welfare/ vocational	vocational
14. Overall cost	expensive	within normal TSA range (see page 10)

Fig. 4. Characteristics of the Fullemploy and CFE courses as observed by the researcher.

CASE STUDY V

B and Y are sisters from India who were born in East Africa. They came to England in 1975 in order to attend their father's funeral. He had died within five months of arriving in Britain.

B who is the elder by one year is 19 years of age, is cheerful, gentle and feels the loss of her father deeply. Both were at university in India and B was in her final year. *Y* is full of confidence and self assertiveness. Before joining the course she had been offered a one-year secretarial training course. She abondoned the offer in favour of Fullemploy because it was a shorter course. According to B and Y, their biggest problem was English. They could not get jobs in offices and they found it difficult to be accepted on many courses because they did not know enough English. Both applied for jobs in a bank after the course and were accepted as clerks. Both have performed so well that their immediate supervisor expressed surprise when told that they came from the Fullemploy course.

CASE STUDY VI

X is 17 years old. He joined the course immediately after a custodial sentence for a minor offence. Like several others on the second course, his many weaknesses, e.g. lack of motivation and laziness, did not become apparent until late in the course. He blamed society for the misfortunes that had befallen him. Having held two jobs before joining the course (average tenure two months) he believed that all he needed was to be given a chance to prove himself. The Fullemploy course looked ideal since the absence of strict school-type discipline meant that success for any individual depended more on his or her sense of responsibility and motivation, or the ability of the course to instill these qualities into the trainees. Only in the first week were his ratings by instructors above average. Subsequent weeks saw a gradual deterioration of his performance. Instructors' comments were critical. One instructor commented: "X has made minor progress since he has put very little effort into the course. He must look at things he considers important and seriously think about where they are going to lead him. Until he does this his future appears bleak". Another instructor described him as shifty, with no outstanding qualities, with little motivation or enthusiasm. A third described him as a lazy person who always seeks the easy way out. The climax came during the sixth week — the Work Experience Week. He only managed to attend half a day of the entire week. He did not report to the course or to the employer that he was not able to continue. This disappointed the instructor more than any of his shortcomings. His answer to the questions why he behaved this way

was indicative of his attitude. "No, I do not think that it was really necessary to inform them. After all they're doing a job aren't they?" The instructor admitted that they were unable to get through to X. After the course X obtained a job but quickly fell into trouble with the police and, at the time of the follow-up interview he had just completed a three-month sentence.

Although the main yardstick of success for the Fullemploy courses was whether or not the trainees were in employment at the time of the follow-up interview, one of the most interesting 'successes' was a girl who was still unemployed. Her story was given in Case Study II.

The significance of the overall findings, can be judged in the light of the greater employment disadvantage among Fullemploy trainees as compared with the CFE course. Case Study VII illustrates some of the difficulties encountered by Fullemploy. Two basic criteria for selection to the CFE course were that each trainees had at least 1 CSE subject to his or her credit, and could show some evidence of motivation to learn, e.g. attendance at evening classes. On this count, the majority of Fullemploy trainees may not have been acceptable to the CFE course. Alternatively, some of those accepted by the CFE course might have been rejected by Fullemploy because they were too well qualified. Fullemploy did not use systematic selection criteria, and generally recruited trainees who appeared less employable, at least by the CFE yardstick.

CASE STUDY VII

Miss Z was 18 years old and an unmarried mother. At the beginning she was categorised as a borderline case for the course. She however proved more difficult than had been envisaged. She left school at the age of 15 without mastering the basics of reading, simple counting and writing. She proved a real headache to the person who supervised her during the Work Experience Week. While addressing and stamping a pile of envelopes she was unable, or unwilling, to follow the alphabet from A to Z. She started from Z and was unable to follow it backwards which resulted in duplication and therefore sending more than one letter to some addresses. According to the supervisor, she found it difficult to understand that the number 3308 came before 3408. On the course she was also a very disruptive influence and saw little need to control her language. In a fit of temper she called two of the instructors 'white pigs'. At the end of the course the instructors found it "impossible to construct a work reference for her". Halfway through the course the instructor contemplated her dismissal because of her low motivation, poor punctuality, discourteousness and general lack of interest. At the follow-up interview she was repentent. She accepted that she behaved badly and that if she had known and done her best, she

would have profited a lot. "At first I would not think about the course as worthwhile. But when I really think about it, it was. But it never did anything for me. Being pregnant I was tired all the time".

The greater level of disadvantage on the second course may well be a contributing factor to explain the poorer achievements of the second course. It is arguable, though in view of the numbers involved it cannot be proved that the second Fullemploy course took on trainees who were more difficult to cope with, by comparison with the first course. In addition, the difficulties experienced over the course leadership and internal communications, noted earlier, may well have contributed to the poorer performance of the second course.

It is not possible to derive statistically the factors which contributed most to the greater relative effectiveness of the first Fullemploy course. However, on the basis of the follow-up interviews and employers' ratings, several factors stand out:

(i) Location in the City has had a beneficial effect in widening the trainees' horizons, opening up new job opportunities, and increasing the confidence of the trainees to travel outside their local areas. A training course in the City had great prestige in the eyes of the trainees even if many of them initially felt rather apprehensive about it. It can also be argued that any trainee, however well qualified, still needs to learn his or her way round the City and explore its job opportunities while attending a vocational training course. The location of the course in the City also provided easy access to employers who were prepared to co-operate in the Work Experience Week, or to recruit staff from the course.

(ii) The assistance given to trainees in obtaining jobs was an important feature of the Fullemploy approach. Fullemploy had previously operated as an employment agency and therefore had experience in helping young people whom the Careers Service might not otherwise see. Fullemploy I appears to have succeeded largely through the co-operation of the Fullemploy companies. By contrast, Fullemploy II put more practical emphasis on learning how to seek and to obtain employment.

It is of interest that all the trainees for the CFE courses were recruited *via* the Careers Service and the Fullemploy trainees were recruited through community projects, detached employment officers, social workers etc. Both groups of trainees (CFE and Fullemploy) had access to the Careers Service on completion of the course, although there was little evidence of the trainees using the service available to them.

(iii) The life skills/counselling component appears to have been very important on the first course, although it was less significant on the second. This decline was also reflected in the instructors' ratings. The average performance rating of life skills on the second course fell in relation to the rating of other subjects. A slightly higher proportion of trainees on the second course had been institutionalised or had been in prison, and a number of the trainees knew each

other before the course so that they tended to form cliques which prevented the instructors from reaching the individual. Life skills are increasingly becoming a feature of many training courses for young people organised by the TSA, (e.g. Wider Opportunities Courses, Short Industrial Courses, Occupational Selection Courses). The Fullemploy trainees in particular appear to have gained in self-confidence, and it is perhaps significant that both Fullemploy groups are more likely to be attempting to their lives.

(iv) The practical job-seeking orientation of the course seems to be important. It should not be treated as an arbitrary appendage to the course but as an integral component. (The job-seeking element was poorly developed in the first Fullemploy course, although it improved in the second).

The job-seeking activity arises out of the close knowledge of, and a personal relationship with, each trainee. To a large extent, obtaining a job will depend on each trainee's efforts in the context of all the help and guidance provided on the course. Despite the improvements on the second course there were fewer trainees with jobs to go to at the end of the course. As noted earlier this may be related to the time of year when the trainees came on the job market (Christmas) and their personal characteristics, which were described on page 19.

Other factors such as the quality of teaching, equipment available, the extra curricular activities, the atmosphere, etc are harder to assess directly but they must all contribute positively to the overall impact of the course. One unifying factor was that there was no impression among the trainees of "second-best", or a course "on the cheap". Indeed the course appeared to them to be sophisticated and superior. This could well have had a motivating effect on the trainees. One possible index of this could be the relatively low drop-out rate, coupled with the high level of punctuality shown by the trainees. According to the TSA, many other TSA sponsored courses in CFE's and on employers' premises, are as well equipped and as spacious as the Fullemploy course, and it is interesting to speculate on the effect this has on the trainees' motivation. It is distinctly possible that the sophisticated environment could have a beneficial impact on the trainees' motivation and aspirations.

A different but related point is that the expectations of the Fullemploy course organisers appeared to be different from that of the CFE organiser. An excerpt from a document written by the organiser of the CFE course is indicative of the level of expectation embodied in the course: "The aim of the course was to give a basic training in reprographics and clerical procedure which would be acceptable to employers wanting *junior additional help*". (Our italics). By contrast, the Fullemploy prospectus made no promise about the level of jobs obtainable, except that the course was designed to "lead into a job". On the course itself the general emphasis was that each individual trainee was being encouraged and helped to go as far as he or she was able. It can be seen from the data collected in

the follow-up study that some of the Fullemploy trainees have made very significant gains. Perhaps an important feature of the Fullemploy approach is the emphasis on personal development and the expectation among the organisers of high, rather than low, attainment on the part of the trainees. This does not imply that the CFE course generated low expectations of attainment as evidence was not obtained which could indicate whether or not this was the case. However, the point remains that the Fullemploy course generated high expectations and placed considerable emphasis on personal development.

Another important feature of the Fullemploy package is the close association with a number of employers who know and understand the nature of the Fullemploy course. There were no terminal standards by which each trainee's attainment was measured, and prospective employers need to be sure that the ex-Fullemploy trainees they recruit have potential both to perform and to develop. The follow-up data indicates that a significant proportion of the employed Fullemploy trainees are indeed performing satisfactorily. The association of employers with the Fullemploy scheme is important because many of the trainees out of work at the time of the follow-up interview claimed that, employer's to whom they had applied for jobs, had told them that a 12-week course was too short a period in which to learn anything worthwhile. In this case the absence of terminal standards may be a disadvantage, although the chances are that the level of attainment as measured might not reflect the capacity to develop and would not therefore greatly enhance the chances of being employed after the course. It is arguable that Fullemploy should allow the trainees who have the ability to obtain nationally recognised qualifications. Even so, the value of close links with employers who understand what Fullemploy is trying to do, and who also value the product, should be stressed. Such a liaison could lead to direct recruitment from the course. In the absence of nationally recognised terminal standards, liaison with a consortium of employers, would be essential. These employers could provide a necessary stepping-stone to enable ex-trainees to build up and consolidate their skills and work habits, before attempting to find employment on the open job market. Despite the use of terminal standards on a CFE course there would also be some value in close liaison with a syndicate of employers.

An obvious and important advantage which the Fullemploy courses may have over other training courses lies in its budget. If conventional courses had a considerably larger budget would they produce better results with the existing design? Although the question has to be asked it is impossible to answer. It does seem likely that the impact of a conventional course would be greater. However, in the absence of a Life Skills teaching close liaison with a group of employers, individual counselling, and a thorough job-getting orientation it may not achieve the same level of effectiveness as Fullemploy I.

Perhaps a more realistic question might be: Can the Fullemploy course achieve the same results on a smaller budget? An examination of the itemised

budget submitted to the TSA would suggest that less spacious and/or less expensive premises, a slightly lower instructor-trainee ratio, and trimmings here and there which would in no way lower the appearance or reality of a high quality training course, could result in a reduction of costs of over 30%. This would still make it an expensive course by TSA standards, but it would be a pity to assume that the facilities which characterise Barclays International's customary training should become the necessary yardstick for others who may consider setting up their own courses.

Approximately two-thirds of the overall budget for the Fullemploy courses was met by Barclays, although most of it stemmed from the utilization of spare resources (staff, premises, equipment) rather than direct expenditure on the course. On the other hand, without Barclays' sponsorship in addition to the TSA grant, Fullemploy would not have been able to run the courses. The benefit did not flow all one way, for Barclays learned much from the experience. In particular, involvement in the Fullemploy scheme could be regarded as a valuable exercise in the development of Barclays' instructors.

The first course was an indicator of the potential of the approach and the second course a reminder that performance and capacity are not always in tune. From the information available it is possible to speculate why Fullemploy II did not attain the same level of achievement. The reasons are:

(1) that the trainees presented greater problems;
(2) that the course organisation and administration was less effective;
(3) that internal communications were poor; and
(4) that the course was two weeks shorter.

Consequently, the Fullemploy approach can be said to be potentially successful, though the performance can easily fall short of potential unless great care is taken.

Six months is only a short time in the life of a young person. The follow-up period in the study can only sample the first effects of the Fullemploy courses. Some of the trainees may benefit only in the long term, while others who have already benefited may cease to do so as the time since the course increases and the effects wear off. If an optimistic position is taken and the gains in employability, self-confidence and the ability to cope with life, are long lasting they will form the basis for further personal growth. If that happens then the Fullemploy courses might have broken successfully into the cycle of disadvantage. The signs are that the approach can, in the form of the first course, produce significant results.

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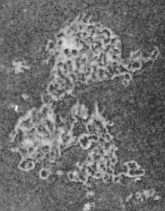

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